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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

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والدراسات الإسلامية

CENTRE FOR MIDDLE EASTERN
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THE GOLAN HEIGHTS
under
ISRAELI OCCUPATION
1967-1981

by

Uri Davis



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1. INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to present an outline of the scope of the destruction of the Golan Heights under the 1967 Israeli occupation and subsequent annexation, on the one hand, and the parallel designs for the Israeli-Jewish colonisation of the region as presented and executed by the planners of the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division (1).

Much of the material on the Golan economy and population on the eve of the 1967 war, as well as the post-1967 Israeli settlement planning for the territory of the Golan Heights, has been collated at the Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies Documentation Unit, University of Durham. I wish to extend particular thanks to Ms. Heather Bleaney, the Senior Documentation Assistant at the Centre, for her assistance in assembling the documentary material for this study.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Israeli-Jewish settlement planning is carried out under three formally separate authorities: the Ministry of Agriculture, the Jewish Agency for the Land of Israel Settlement Department, and the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division. For the division of legal and executive responsibilities among these three authorities, see Chapter Three, "The Israeli Colonisation of the Golan Heights", below.

2. THE GOLAN AS REFLECTED IN THE 1965-66 STATISTICAL DATA OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

a. General

Until 1964 the geographical area identified as the Golan fell under the administrative authority of two Provinces (Governorates): Damascus and Dar'a (1). In 1964 the Syrian Government resolved to incorporate the Golan under a unified Provincial administration, and on 31 August that year the new Province of Quneitra was officially incorporated, with the city of Quneitra as Provincial capital.

The Province is subdivided into two Districts:

1. The District of Quneitra
2. The District of FiQ (Zawiyya)

Under the administrative authority of the Province there were in 1965-66:

163 agricultural villages and towns
108 individual farms
13 police stations

The following Table 1 outlines the distribution of the villages, farms and police stations in the Province by District and Sub-District. It is interesting to compare these figures with the figures quoted in the World Zionist Organization early planning documents for Israeli-Jewish settlement in the Golan Heights:

In the Golan Heights region there were some 100 large villages and some additional 200 small villages, quarters, farms, etc. According to calculations, the total of the rural population was 60/70,000 people to which were added the 20,000 inhabitants of the city of Quneitra. Following the war the Golan Heights were emptied

TABLE 1

Name of Province	Name of District	Name of Sub-District	No. of Police Stations	No. of Villages	No. of Farms
Al-Quneitra	Al-Quneitra	Al-Quneitra	2	36	24
		Khan Arinaba	2	16	6
		Khishniyya	2	23	21
		Massada	5	32	27
	Fiq (Zawiyya)	Fiq	2	32	24
		Al-Mahajir (Al-Batiha)	1	18	6
TOTAL			13	163	108

(Source: The Syrian Arab Republic, 1967, 31 (2))

of most of its population, and today only some 7,000 people remain, all resident in the hewn villages, and the majority of whom are Druze (3).

In 1966 the total population of the Province of Quneitra was 147,613. Table 2 below gives the distribution of area, population registered in the civil registration, density and population of administrative centres by Province and District (1966).

TABLE 2

Province and District	Area (Km ²)	Population	Density per Km ²	Population of Administrative Centres	
				Total	% of Total Population
Quneitra	1,710	147,613	86	30,147	20
Quneitra District	1,300	120,601	93	27,378	23
Fiq District	410	27,012	66	2,769	10

(Source: Syrian Arab Republic, 1966, Table 13, 26)

As Table 2 above indicates, the Quneitra Province population was largely a rural population. 80 per cent of the population lived outside the administrative centres of Quneitra and Fiğ and, as Table 3 (below) indicates, 64 per cent of the labour force in the Province was employed in 1966 in farming (and fishing).

There is no doubt that, on the eve of the 1967 Israeli occupation, the Golan was flourishing economically.

On the eve of the Israeli occupation the Golan flourished economically. According to official

Syrian statistics of 1966 the animal wealth of the region included 3,700 cows, one or two million sheep and goats (depending on the season of the year and the movements of the nomads), 1,300 horses, 7,000 beasts of burden, 200,000 poultry, 7,000 beehives. Between 1960 and 1966 agricultural production reached the following averages (in tons):- 16,000 of grain, 13,000 of vegetables, 13,400 of milk, 67 of wool, 16 of honey, 2,000 of meat, and 18 million eggs.

At the end of 1966 orchards covered 10,000 acres. There were 2,700,000 fruit trees with an annual production of 22,000 tons of various fruits. (4)

Following the 1967 war, the major portion of Quneitra Province fell under Israeli occupation: 1,150 sq km (5). Of the 139 agricultural villages and 61 individual farms (6), only eight are listed in the Israeli Defence Forces, Census of Population 1967 (conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics). These are:

1.	Majd al-Shams	(2,918 people in 1967; 2,330 in 1960)
2.	Mas'ada	(705 people in 1967; 1,530 in 1960)
3.	Buq'ata	(1,425 people in 1967; 1,392 in 1960)
4.	Quneitra	(206 people in 1967; 17,080 in 1960; 120,601 in 1966) (7)
5.	Ayn Qiniya	(578 people in 1967; 798 in 1960)
6.	Sihita	(173 people in 1967; 200 in 1960)
7.	Mansura	(5 people in 1967; 955 in 1960)
8.	Ghajar	(385 people in 1967; 620 in 1960)
Total		6,396 (8)

The remainder of 131 agricultural villages and 61 individual farms were wiped off the face of the earth by the Israeli occupation authorities immediately following the Israeli victory in the 1967 war. They were razed to the ground and their lands handed over to exclusive Israeli-Jewish settlement (see below). It is estimated that 93 per cent of the Syrian citizens of the

Golan Heights were expelled and made refugees as a consequence of the 1967 war, in addition to the 1948 Palestinian-Arab refugee residents of the Golan Heights (9).

Against this backdrop of pre-1967 abundance of the Golan region under Syrian sovereignty, it is instructive to recall the observation made by the late Moshe Dayan in his capacity as Minister of Defence in his lecture at the Israel Institute of Technology (Technion) in Haifa in 1969. In response to questions by students he made the following statement:

Q: Why not add exile to Jordan to any punishment for illegal activity of Palestinians in Judea and Samaria? In this way we could eliminate militant elements; should there develop widespread resistance we could exile all extremist elements.

Dayan: I understand that you have a plan to quickly transfer all of them to Jordan. I am not a partner to such a plan. I insist that Israel's problem for a century, and I have no idea for how much longer, is not how to expel the Arabs but how to live with them. We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is, a Jewish state here. In considerable areas of the country we bought the lands from the Arabs. Jewish villages were built in place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I don't blame you because these geography books no longer exist. Not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahala (Dayan's own village) arose in the place of Mahalul, (Kibbutz) Gevat - in the place of Haneifas, and Kefar Yehoshua - in the place of Tell Shamam. There is not one single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population ... (Haaretz 4 April 1969) (10)

One can clearly identify where Dayan's statement is inaccurate. Both in 1948 and in 1967 he was an important partner to plans of transfer. In 1948, for instance, he was a military field commander in charge of the troops who committed the massacre and the transfer of the Palestinian-Arab population in Lydda (11) and in 1967 it was under his leadership as Minister of Defence that the Israeli army engineered the transfer of the Syrian Arab Golan population, transformed them into a refugee society, and razed their civilisation from the face of the earth.

In light of the massive destruction of the Golan Heights by the Israeli occupation authorities, it may be instructive to outline some of the social characteristics and the agricultural characteristics of the Province in 1966, on the eve of the 1967 war.

b. Social Characteristics

The Province of Quneitra under Syrian sovereignty was largely an agricultural province. Of the total population of 147,613, only 30,147 resided in the administrative centres of Quneitra city (27,378 inhabitants) and Fiq (2,769 inhabitants) (12).

In addition, of the total of 157,145 of the 1948 Palestinian Arab refugees registered in the Syrian Arab Republic, 9,594 were resident in the Quneitra Province in 1966. The majority of the latter came from the Safad Sub-District (8,110) and then, respectively in decreasing order, from the Sub-Districts of Tiberias (682), Acre (334), Haifa (213), Bisan (159), Jaffa (30), Jerusalem (24), Nazareth (22) and Gaza (20) (13).

The total labour force of the Province in 1966 was 26,004 people (20 per cent of the total population of the Province). Of these, 24,609 were registered as employed and 395 were registered as unemployed (14).

As Table 3 below indicates, 64 per cent of the labour force

Labour force by occupation in the Syrian Arab Republic by sample (May 1965)

Mohafazats	Total	Workers not classified by occupation	Service sport & recreation workers	Craftsmen production progress workers	Transport communi- cation workers	Miners quarrymen workers
Quneitra	26,004	77	1,021	3,062	525	-
Male	1,087,739	21,058	56,177	249,713	40,041	4,894
Grand						
Female	,360,726	958	9,934	16,146	358	-
Total						
Total	1,448,465	22,016	66,111	265,859	40,399	4,894
		Farmers fishermen progress	Sales workers	Clerical workers	Executive and managerial workers	Professional technical and related workers
		16,762	1,636	154	1,954	713
		520,065	117,582	17,785	25,876	34,548
		317,779	2,193	2,298	1,595	9,465
		837,844	119,775	20,083	27,471	44,013

TABLE 3

(Source: Syrian Arab Republic, 1967b, Table 66, 108-109)

organisations were rudimentary:

18 co-operatives (in 20 villages) affiliated to
the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (all established
in 1966; none are recorded previously)

14 co-operatives affiliated to the Ministry of
Agriculture

2 consumer co-operatives
1 women's society
3 charitable societies

All co-operatives, societies and charitable societies were
(in 1966) of rudimentary membership, e.g. the two Consumer Co-
operatives in 1966 had a membership of a mere 116 people. There
were no small industries co-operatives, no housing co-operatives,
and no social service co-operatives (17).

Medical services in the Quneitra Province were similarly
retarded. The Province had no hospital (Government or private).
It had five Government dispensaries, one Ministry of Health
Mother and Child Welfare Health Centre (MCW) and one Ministry of
Health Malaria Eradication Centre (18).

The Syrian Arab population of the Quneitra Province was
culturally and confessionally diversified:

These various religious and ethnic communities
live isolated from each other adhering to their
separate language, customs, religious ritual and
national traditions. Yet, the natural environment,
conditions of life and the policy of the State
which was commonly experienced by them all altered
this picture of separation, and a process of
assimilation of the various ethnic, linguistic and
religious communities has become more or less
general and comprehensive. (19)

It is disappointing that Khayr does not elaborate further. The only additional information he offers in this regard is that the Golan Druze population was concentrated in the villages at the foot of Mount Hermon; that the Circassian villages were concentrated at the foot of the central Golan mountain ridge in the vicinity of the plains; and that the Arab (Muslim?) population was concentrated in the southern Golan area and along the shores of Lake Tiberias (20).

We learn from Khayr, however, that the average natural growth rate for the Golan population was estimated at 43 per thousand per annum and the average fertility rate 266 per thousand per annum (21). These figures place the Golan population on the eve of the Israeli occupation inside the highest bracket of natural growth rates in the world.

The Syrian Arab population of the Quneitra Province in 1966 was a very young population, 21.4 per cent of the total population in 1960 were under five years of age; 55.2 per cent under 20 years of age; 77.2 per cent under 35 years of age; and only 6.6 per cent 60 years of age and over (22).

In all regards the Syrian Arab society of the Golan, prior to its destruction under the 1967 Israeli occupation, demonstrated features common to the Arab society throughout the Arab world, and typical of Third World countries.

According to Khayr there is little available information on emigration from the Golan Heights abroad. It is known that already since the establishment of Ottoman rule in the area and until the 1920s, emigration from the Golan to Latin America (Argentina and Brazil in particular), as well as Canada and the U.S.A., took place (23). Khayr also notes that, prior to the 1948 war, large numbers of workers from the Golan sought seasonal labour inside Palestine.

More significant, however, was the process of internal migration into and out of the Golan Province. Khayr quotes the 1960 Syrian Arab Republic Census of Population figures which

Distribution of the Golan Population by Size of Locality,
Number of Localities and Percentage of Population
(based on the 1960 Census)

No. of Population	Quneitra District		Fiq District		Golan	
	No. of Villages	%	No. of Villages	%	No. of Villages	%
Over 1000 inhabitants	11	11.2	6	16.2	17	12.6
500-999 inhabitants	27	27.6	9	24.3	36	26.7
200-499 inhabitants	42	42.9	16	43.3	58	43.0
100-199 inhabitants	16	16.3	5	12.5	21	15.5
Under 100 inhabitants	2	2.0	1	2.7	3	2.2
Total	98	100.0	37	100.0	135*	100.0

*This total is based on the 1960 Census. With the incorporation of the new Province of Quneitra in 1964 and the redrawing of the boundaries of the Districts of Quneitra and Fiq the total number of localities in the new Province was increased to 163 (25).

indicate that 10,232 Syrian Arab citizens who were born outside the Golan were registered with the Census as permanently resident in the Quneitra Province. This represents 14 per cent of the total registered population of the Province (1960 Census). If

the number of non-Syrian citizen immigrants (in the first instance 1948 Palestinian-Arab refugees) permanently resident in the Province is added, the ratio increases to 22.2 per cent. In other words, one out of five inhabitants was born outside the Province (24).

This is clearly an unusually high percentage. This phenomenon, however, is immediately explained if placed in the context of the Israeli-Arab war. The Golan is the Syrian front line and Quneitra the seat of the military headquarters of the front.

The majority of the Golan population, on the eve of the Israeli occupation, thus lived in small village localities of 200-499 inhabitants.

The Syrian-Arab villages in the Golan were structured along clearly definable axes: Eastern Golan mountain ridge; Mount Hermon; Damascus-Quneitra-Kafr Nafah - Daughters of Jacob Bridge; and Rafid-Hamma (26).

c. Agricultural Characteristics

The Syrian geographer Safuh Khayr offers the conventional division of the Golan region into four natural sub-regions:

1. The Hermon sub-region
2. The Northern sub-region
3. The Southern sub-region
4. The Bathia plain sub-region (27)

The average temperature registered in Quneitra is lower not only than the average temperature registered in the plains, but also that the average registered in the interior of the country.

The Golan rainfall decreases from the average of 1000 mm per annum in the Northern region to less than 600 mm per annum in the Southern region.

	Average annual temperatures (1955-1969)	Average temperatures in August (1955-1969)	Average temperatures in January (1955-1969)
Quneitra	14.7	22.8	5.7
Lattakia	19.5	27.0	11.8
Tartus	19.7	26.7	12.3
Damascus	17.6	27.2	7.2
Deir al-Zur	19.8	32.1	7.3

(Source: Khayr, 1976, 30-31)

This decrease parallels the decrease in the average height of the Golan from c 1,200 m above sea level in the Northern region to c 300 m above sea level in the Southern region in the vicinity of Lake Tiberias.

	Height (m above sea level)	Average annual rainfall (mm)
Mas'ada	1,000	823
Quneitra	941	794
Rafid	570	617
Fiq	349	476

(Source: Khayr, 1976, 45)

As in all other Mediterranean regions, rainfall in the Golan is concentrated in the winter months (October-May).

The details of the agricultural production of the Quneitra

Province in 1966 read as follows:

res	Total land under cultivation...	390,000 dunum
	Dry farming.....	370,000 dunum
3)	Under irrigation.....	20,000 dunum (30)

Distribution of land and annual produce:

190,000 dunums cereals (16,000 tonnes: 0.08 tonne/dunum)
110,000 dunums legumes (8,000 tonnes: 0.07 tonne/dunum)
10,000 dunums vegetables (5,000 tonnes: 0.5 tonne/dunum)

less than 10,000 dunums industrial crops (1,000 tonnes:
0.07 tonne/dunum)

40,000 dunum fruit orchards: 2,673,000 trees (1,952,000
fruit bearing) producing 22,000 tonnes (11.3kg per tree) (31)

Principal fruit orchards (annual produce):

Olives

10,000 dunums: 68,000 trees (58,000 fruit bearing):
1,000 tonnes

Grapes

20,000 dunums: 2,158,000 trees (1,620,000 fruit bearing):
12,000 tonnes

Apples

10,000 dunums: 233,000 trees (181,000 fruit bearing):
6,100 tonnes

Figs

less than 10,000 dunums: 54,000 trees (44,000 fruit
bearing): 2,000 tonnes (32)

Tobacco

249 dunum in 31 villages (63 farmers) producing
17 tonnes (33)

Note that under Syrian agricultural planning there was no cotton production in the Quneitra Province.

Agricultural machines sold:

Agricultural production in the Quneitra Province was clearly labour intensive.

Only one piece of agricultural machinery in the category of "sprayer, duster, etc." was sold in the Province in 1966.

There were no sales of tractors, harvesters, combined harvester-thresher etc. (34).

Similarly in 1966 there were only 12 pumping licences issued in the Province, under which 14 pumping motors operated (total horsepower of 159) (35).

Animal livestock:

161,000 sheep	
15,000 goats	
500 camels	
500 buffaloes	
- pigs	(36)

21,999 cows	
7,000 oxen	
1,000 horses	
1,000 mules	
7,000 asses	
120,000 poultry	
8,000 beehives	(37)

Annual animal production:

Milk	13,000 tonnes
Ghee Samneh	325 tonnes
Cheese	419 tonnes
Butter	77 tonnes

cotton

Wool (washed)	67 tonnes	
Goat hair	22 tonnes	
Honey	16 tonnes	
Eggs	10,400,000	(38)

Notes to Chapter 2

1. In this text we will depart from the official Syrian translations of Muhafaza as Governorate, and will instead consistently employ the following classification:

<u>Muhafaza</u>	- Province
<u>Mantiga</u>	- District
<u>Nahiya</u>	- Sub-District

2. For the purpose of this paper, the administrative boundaries of the Province of Quneitra and the geographical boundaries of the region of the Golan are treated as identical:
1,710 sq km.
3. Gador, 1967, 10
4. Arab World Files, 1974
one acre is approximately equivalent to four dunums.
5. As set by the Israel-Syria Disengagement Agreement of June 1974. The area occupied in 1967 was 1,250 sq km. As a result of the 1973 war and subsequent to the said Disengagement Agreement, Israeli occupation forces withdrew from some 100 sq km including the Provincial capital of Quneitra, which was returned to Syrian sovereignty razed to the ground.
6. Computed by subtracting the number of agricultural villages and individual farms listed in the Syrian Arab Republic, 1973, 33-35 from the number of agricultural villages and individual farms listed in Syrian Arab Republic, 1967a.
7. The ghost city of Quneitra was used as a training ground in

urban warfare for the Israeli army, and the remnants of its population (206 persons, above) were eventually evacuated. As noted above, on the eve of the withdrawal of the Israeli army from Quneitra following the 1974 Israel-Syria disengagement agreements, the Israeli army levelled the entire city and razed it to the ground.

8. Israel Defence Forces, 1967, 203.
According to the 1967 Israeli Defence Forces figures, 95 per cent of the population surviving in the eight localities listed above were Druze (classified in the Census as non-Muslim and non-Christian, ibid, 204); the figures for 1960 are taken from the Syrian Arab Republic (1960): Damascus Muhafaza, 228-231; the figure for the 1966 population of Quneitra - from Table 5 above. Of the eight localities listed in the 1967 Census above, only the four Druze villages of Majd al-Shams, Mas'ada, Buq'ata and Ayn Qiniya are listed in the subsequent official Central Bureau of Statistics and World Zionist Organization of the Golan Heights data and publications. The Alawi village of Ghajar is excluded from Israeli and WZO data for the Golan Heights. The remaining localities of Quneitra Sihita and Mansura have disappeared: they no longer exist.
9. William W. Harris estimates the Syrian Arab population in the Golan territories occupied by Israel circa 100,000, of which circa 93,000 were made refugees. (Harris, 1980, 16).
10. Quoted in Davis and Mezvinsky, 1975, 43.
11. See for example Fouzi el-Asmar, To be an Arab in Israel, Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1978.
12. Syrian Arab Republic, 1967b, Tables 11 and 12, 22-23
13. Ibid, Tables 20 and 22, 37 and 39
14. Ibid, Tables 65, 106-107

15. Against 58 per cent of the national labour force
16. Ibid, Tables 30, 31, 32 and 33, 56-61. The Syrian Arab Republic Directorate of Statistics uses the term "Section" where we use the term "Classroom" above.
17. Ibid, Tables 69-75, 113-121
18. Ibid, Tables 79 and 80, 128
19. Khayr, 1976, 73 (Ar.)
20. Ibid, 102-104
21. Ibid, 79-80
22. Ibid, 93, 96
23. Ibid, 86. Khayr mentions Druze, Alawi and Christian (but not Circassian and Muslim) emigration abroad.
24. Ibid, 90. The parallel figure for emigration out of the Quneitra Province is 11,107.
25. Ibid, 109
26. Ibid, 110
27. Ibid, 25-28
28. Syrian Arab Republic, 1966, Table 143, 284. The Syrian Arab Republic Directorate of Statistics uses "hectar" as standard land unit, where we use "dunum" above. 1 hectar = 10 dunums.
29. Ibid, Table 144, 285
30. Ibid, Table 149, 298, 299, 300, 307

31. Ibid, Table 154, 314

32. Ibid, Table 162, 321

33. Ibid, Table 170, 329

34. Ibid, Table 155, 315

35. Ibid, Table 156, 316

36. Ibid, Table 160, 320

3. THE ISRAELI COLONISATION OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

Israeli colonisation planning for the Golan Heights was embarked upon immediately after the occupation of this territory following the Israeli victory in the 1967 war.

The first planning outline was completed by Mr. Uzi Gador, of the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division Galilee Office in November 1967. The following outline is based largely on his work as well as the two volumes of the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division Galilee Region Golan Development Plan published in 1974-75 (1).

The vesting of the Golan Heights Israeli Jewish settlement planning in the World Zionist Organization requires some explanation. Israeli Jewish settlement planning is carried out under three formal authorities: the Ministry of Agriculture, the Jewish Agency for the Land of Israel Settlement Department and the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division (2). The division of responsibilities between these three authorities is regulated by law under the World Zionist Organization - Jewish Agency (Status) Law 1952, and the Covenant signed between the Government of the State of Israel and the Zionist Executive, also known as the Executive of the Jewish Agency for the Land of Israel, 1954. Generally the Ministry of Agriculture and the Jewish Agency are charged with the development of Israeli-Jewish settlements and colonisation projects in pre-1967 Israel territories, as well as territories annexed to Israel since 1967. It is in order to note that Israeli legislation does not officially use the term "annexation". The official equivalent is "the application of the Israeli law and legislation". Territories are thus not "annexed" to the State of Israel, but rather, territories under Israeli military occupation are brought under Israeli civilian jurisdiction. Two areas occupied in the 1967 war are thus annexed to Israel: East Jerusalem (June 1967) and the Golan Heights (December 1981).

The World Zionist Organization Settlement Division, on the

other hand, operates in the post-1967 Israeli occupied territories that have not been officially annexed, and are thus referred to in official Israeli terminology as the "administered territories". These consist of the non-annexed (or not as yet annexed) territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Needless to say the three World Zionist Organization development plans referred to above were completed in 1967, 1974 and 1975 respectively, long before the annexation of the Golan Heights to the State of Israel.

The settlement activities of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department are financed by the Jewish Agency through Zionist fund-raising from Jewish communities throughout the Western world. Generally, these funds are recognised as charitable, and donors can claim tax deductions against the sums donated. Since the 1967 Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has been declared illegal under international law by the U.N. and is not recognised by any of the U.N. member states; extension of Jewish Agency funds to fund settlement activities in the post-1967 Israeli occupied territories would place the Jewish Agency and the charitable status of its fund-raising activities in the West in jeopardy. Settlement activities in the post-1967 occupied territories are therefore carried out either directly by the relevant Ministries of the Government of the State of Israel (Agriculture, Housing, etc.) or by the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division, whose activities are financed by the Israeli Government.

a. Early Planning

The enormous potential of the Golan Heights was evident to the Israeli planners at the outset. Uzi Gador notes in his introductory comments as follows:

Before concentrating on the agricultural aspects of the region, we must emphasise that agriculture is only one of the (potential) economic factors of the region: an important factor, but not the exclusive factor. There is another branch of

economic activity, that in our view is of equal importance, and may perhaps be superior to agriculture by virtue of its economic volume, namely, tourism and catering.

The unique features of the area (including the high, snow-covered Mount Hermon, the wadis at its foot, the line of exotic volcanic hills, and the pools trapped in the volcanic craters of some of these hills, the scenic Circassian and Druze villages, the various historical sites and the spa springs at al-Hamma) could generate a substantial branch of economic activity which will contribute extensively to the development and population of the region. (3)

We have before us a region that is cut to measure, and in which anything can be grown, but whose relative advantage is in the growing of crops that are not conventional in Israel, or whose cultivation in Israel is far from meeting needs. (4)

The Israeli planners divide the Golan Heights into three Sub-Regions:

1. The Northern Heights Sub-Region: (perceived natural advantages: cool, wet climate; abundant local water resources; fertile soil pockets)
2. The Southern Heights Sub-Region: (perceived natural advantages: broad expanses suitable for cultivation without special preparation)
3. The Kinneret Valley (Batiha) Sub-Region: (perceived natural advantages: warm winter temperatures; Lake Tiberias as water source; fertile soil pockets)

In parallel the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights plateau is further sub-divided into three areas:

1. The northern area
2. The central area
3. The southern area

Generally, the Golan Heights do not have abundant water resources. According to the Syrian figures as quoted by Gador the total output of groundwater wells in the Golan Heights is 125 million m^3 - most of which is concentrated in the northern and central areas of the Plateau (5). According to Gador, the Golan Heights water well output can be increased up to probably 15-20 million m^3 per annum - but not much more. An additional water resource is the Rain Pool (Birkat Ram). This natural reservoir holds at present some 2-3 million m^3 , which could be developed to a capacity of 15-20 million m^3 . Finally, Lake Kinneret and the Yarmuq River can be pumped up onto the Plateau over considerable height.

Since the 1967 war, and subsequently since the 1973 war, approximately 1,150 sq km (1,150,000 dunums) of the 1,710 sq km of the Quneitra Province are under Israeli occupation. As noted above, the territory was formally annexed to the State of Israel in December 1981.

The Israeli settlement planners recognise that, of the total of 1,150,000 dunums under Israeli occupation authorities administration, some 200,000 dunums are under the ownership, occupancy or cultivation of the cluster of the surviving Syrian Arab Druze villages in the Northern Heights Sub-Region (6). Of the remaining approximately 1,000,000 dunums the Israeli planners considered only some 15 per cent as "cultivable" (7). These lands fall under the following classification:

Northern Heights	Mansura-Quneitra	13,000	
Sub-Region	Dalwa	3,000	
	Sakhikh-Qarhata	<u>4,000</u>	20,000

Southern Heights Sub-Region	Hispin-Fiq	70,000	
	Harb	12,000	
	Al-Qusayba-Hazan	<u>15,000</u>	97,000
The Jordan River Valley and Delta	Jordan Valley	4,500	
	Batiha	5,000	
	Qarana-Dardara	<u>2,500</u>	12,000
Miscellaneous	Nuheila	5,000	
	Rafid	6,000	
	Alaqa	<u>3,000</u>	14,000
Total			143,000 (8)

The remaining 900,000 dunums defined as "uncultivable" are divided as follows:

Grazing	650,000
Military manoeuvres	150,000
Miscellaneous (sites of destroyed Arab villages, border zones, roads, etc.)	100,000 (9)

Under Gador's early planning proposal, an initial layout for twenty Israeli-Jewish agricultural settlements over a period of fifteen years is outlined under two alternative schemes:

5 in the Northern Sub-Region and 8 in the Southern Sub-Region, or 3 in the Northern Sub-Region and 10 in the Southern Sub-Region.

An additional seven agricultural settlements are designed for the Kinneret Valley (Batiha) and various dispersed localities throughout the Golan Heights. Each agricultural settlement will consist of 70 agricultural units (1,400 family units, circa 7,000 people). The total investment required (in 1967) is stipulated at IL 123 million (approximately US\$ 35 million at 1967 exchange rates). Approximately three-quarters of this sum (IL 94 million)

is earmarked for infrastructural and capital investments, and one-quarter (IL 29 million) for the development of consumer services. The planners estimate that the agricultural producers' income will be 14 per cent of the total productive investments (infra-structure and capital), namely, in the region of IL 10,000 (US\$ 2,800) per agricultural unit per annum.

Under this proposal the early Israeli Jewish settlement plans emerge as follows (Table 4).

In addition, the early planning provides for the allocation of ten grazing areas along the western slopes of the Golan Heights of the order of 12,500 dunum each, to agricultural settlements in the Upper Galilee (inside pre-1967 Israeli territory). Each of these grazing areas can support a herd of 500 female beef cattle. Thus the grand total of the allocation of the Israeli occupied Golan Heights under this early plan provides for:

1. 126,000 dunums - cultivable lands
2. 665,000 dunums - grazing lands

Approximately 800,000 dunums (11)

The early planning visualised the establishment of the proposed twenty agricultural settlements and one regional-urban centre in three five-year stages: 15 years to completion. It is illuminating that, exactly 14 years after the drafting of this early planning proposal in 1967 and the establishment in the Golan Heights of 30 agricultural settlements, industrial villages (12) and regional-urban centres, as well as one town, the Golan city Qatzrin, the Golan was duly annexed to the state of Israel in December 1981 (13).

The total investment projected for the complete development of this proposed agricultural settlement outline (twenty agricultural villages) in 1967 is, as cited above, IL 123 million (US\$ 35 million at 1967 exchange rates). The summary of the investments stipulated breaks down as follows:

TABLE 4

Sub-Region	No. of settlements	Water Quota per settlement ³ (00m ³)	Cultivable Land Area per settlement (dunums)	Grazing Area per settlement (dunums)	Total Water million m ³	Total Cultivable Area (dunums)	Total Grazing Area (dunums)
<u>Alternative 1</u>							
North	5	1,900	4,000	34,000	9.5	20,000	175,000
South	8	800	10,000	35,000	6.4	80,000	280,000
Batiha	4	1,500	3,000	-	6.0	12,000	-
Miscell.	3	1,500	5,000	28,000	4.5	15,000	85,000
TOTAL	20				26.4	127,000	540,000
<u>Alternative 2</u>							
North	3	1,500	6,500	35,000	4.5	19,500	105,000
South	10	950	8,000	35,000	9.5	80,000	350,000
Batiha	4	1,500	3,000	-	6.0	12,000	-
Miscell.	3	1,500	5,000	28,000	4.5	15,000	85,000
TOTAL	20				24.5	126,000	540,000

(Source: WZO, 1967, 18)

	Consumer Investments (IL)	Productive (Capital & Infra-Structure) Investments (IL)	Total (IL)
5 co-operative agricultural settlements in the Northern Sub-Region	8,115,000	26,230,000	34,345,000
8 co-operative agricultural settlements in the Southern Sub-Region	12,984,000	32,752,000	45,736,000
3 co-operative agricultural settlements variously dispersed	4,869,000	15,000,000	19,869,000
280 family agricultural units	3,386,600	9,627,800	13,014,400
Water develop- ment projects and carriers			10,000,000
TOTAL	29,354,000	83,609,800	122,964,400

Approximate average investment per settlement

Productive investments	IL 4,700,000
Consumer investments	IL 1,500,000
TOTAL	IL 6,200,000

Main areas of productive investments (IL million)

1.	Land preparation	18,0
2.	Animals and grazing	22,0
3.	Fruit orchards	15,2
4.	Irrigation	7,0
5.	Regional installations	5,8
6.	Water projects and rights	13,3
7.	Equipment, installations and miscellaneous	12,1

Average productive investments per settlement (schematic) (IL million)

1.	Land preparation	1,0
2.	Animals and grazing	1,1
3.	Orchards and irrigation	1,1
4.	Water projects	0,5
5.	Miscellaneous	1,0
TOTAL		4,7 (14)

b. Implementation: 1967-1980

According to the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division - Galilee Region, the population targets for the first ten years (1967-1977) of the Israeli Jewish settlement of the Golan Heights were set in the 1967 Golan Heights development planning as follows:

Rural Jewish villages	15,000-20,000
Urban centre	30,000
Druze villages	10,000
Total	55,000-60,000

It seems that by 1975 (eight years later) only the Syrian Arab Druze population in the four surviving villages of Majd al-

Shams, Mas'ada, Buq'ata and Ayn Qiniya was well on its way towards achieving the Israeli planners' target (8,900 in 1974). The Israeli Jewish population in the 21 agricultural, industrial and urban settlements established in the Golan Heights by 1975 was approximately 2,000 people in all - very much below the planners' target. This population was situated in the following settlements:

- 8 agricultural collective kibbutzim
- 5 agricultural co-operative moshavim
- 4 agricultural workers (small-holder) moshavim
- 1 urban village (kafat)
- 2 regional centres
- 1 service centre (15)

This modest Israeli Jewish settler population was concentrated in 1974-75 in four blocks:

1. The southern kibbutz block (Mevoh Hamah, Kefar Haruv, Afiq and Geshur) - 400 people
2. The Benei Yehudah block (Ramot, Giv'at, Yo'av, Alei Ad, Ne'ot Golan, and the Benei Yehudah regional centre) - 480 people
3. The Hispit block (Ramot Magshimim, Nov, Hispin) - 260 people
4. The Quneitra approaches block (Meron Golan, Ein Zivan, El-Rom) - 540 people

Of the eight Syrian Arab localities registered in the 1967 Israeli Defence Forces Census (see above) only four appear in the 1975 Israeli Golan Heights statistics:

1. Majd al-Shams - 4,109 people
2. Buq'ata - 2,251 people
3. Mas'ada - 1,658 people
4. Ayn Qiniya - 882 people (16)

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The World Zionist Organization 1975 development plan confirms the 1967 estimate identifying some 150,000 dunums of the Israeli occupied territory as cultivable land. The plan recognises one-third of this cultivable land area as under Syrian Arab Druze ownership and cultivation. Of the remaining 100,000 dunums earmarked for Israeli Jewish agricultural settlements only 50,000 dunums were under cultivation in 1975.

Whereas Uzi Gador's November 1976 development for the Israeli-Jewish colonisation drive of the Golan Heights was duly qualified as an "early planning proposal", the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division could formulate its 1975 development plan against the experiences gained in the course of its activities in the Golan Heights over the previous eight years. The summary of this plan is as follows:

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Summary of the Development Plan

Settlements

- (a) 22-28 agricultural villages supporting 8,000-9,000 inhabitants. The agricultural settlements will also include industrial branches of economic activity in addition to agriculture, and some will develop tourism as well
- (b) 8-14 urban villages (kafatim) supporting 4,000-6,000 inhabitants
- (c) 2 "live" (permanently inhabited) regional centres and 1 "dead" inter-village service centre supporting 700-1,000 people
- (d) 1 urban centre (the Golan Town Qatzrin) supporting 30,000 people
- (e) 4 Druze villages, which were in existence

in the past, and the significance of whose development is discussed in this plan.

Areas for Selected Development

<u>Area</u>	<u>Proposed Agricultural Economy</u>
NORTH GOLAN	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Nut-tree orchards (hickory nuts, walnuts, etc.)2. Irrigated intensive crops (seed potatoes, cotton, industrial tomatoes)3. Sheep and cattle4. Field crops
SOUTH GOLAN	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Extensive field cropping2. Irrigated plantations (sub-tropical fruits, olives, loquats)3. Viticulture4. Sheep and cattle5. Irrigated crops (cotton, industrial vegetables)
BATIHA VALLEY	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Winter vegetables for export (peppers, melons, eggplants, marrows, onions)2. Sub-tropical plantations (avocados, mangos) (17)

Of the two settlement planning alternatives as outlined by

Gador in his early planning proposal above, the decision went in favour of Alternative 1 (p.27 above). Agricultural settlement was to be supplemented by industry and tourism. The spatial distribution of the settlements was soon to be formalised along the principal axis of the Golan in a North-South direction with the distances between settlements planned at 5-10 km and "the physical alignment of the settlement system and its infrastructure was planned to be set back 5-10 km from the border" (18).

By 1969 eleven settlements were founded, inhabited by some 300 settlers in military Nahal capacity and in civilian capacity (19).

Between 1969-70 and 1973-74 the number of settlements increased to seventeen (plus the unofficial settlement of Qeshet), and the number of Israeli-Jewish settler population to 1,727 (20).

As indicated in Appendix 2, Golan settlement activities until 1973 concentrated in the Southern Sub-Region and in the Quneitra basin, where infrastructural investments (e.g. land preparation) were moderate. Following the 1973 war, the settlement of the Central Golan Sub-Region took precedence, and became the focus of both planning and construction, the first concern being to close the 27 km stretch between Ramat Magshimim and Ein Zivan.

The Central Golan programme had three interconnecting dimensions - a forward line of semi-agricultural settlements covering an industrial village block oriented towards the now resurrected urban centre scheme (Qatzrin). In 1976-77 four sites were established in the forward line, one industrial village was inaugurated to the rear and the first 500 housing units were built at the urban centre. Simultaneously, two additions were made to the South Golan cluster, and one outpost was established in the far north, part of a strategy to close the smaller gap between the Quneitra basin and Mount Hermon. In consequence the Golan's overall Jewish population had expanded to 3,850 by

December 1977, much less than the ten year target of 45,000 aimed for in January 1969, but a figure which made the settlement system the largest project in occupied territory after the East Jerusalem schemes (21).

Since the Central Golan Sub-Region was deemed largely unsuitable for agricultural settlement by the World Zionist Organization planners, the colonisation of this territory was predicated upon the introduction of the Zionist post-1967 settlement innovation: the industrial village (kafat).

The WZO plan envisages the establishment of some fourteen industrial villages (kafatim) consisting of 150 family units each and situated in those areas in the Golan Heights where Israeli-Jewish agriculture cannot be developed. The planners stipulate that the economic activity in every such industrial village will be based on 3-4 co-operative projects employing 25-50 workers each, and 4-6 secondary branches of industrial and workshop economic activity employing 5-15 workers each. These will include: carpentry and wood processing, printing and publishing, textiles, leatherwork and tannery, metal work and metal processing, engineering consultancies, chemical laboratories, photographic laboratories, art studios (22).

In addition to the Golan town of Qatzrin designated for 30,000 minimum population in 40 years (23), the Golan Heights planners made provision for four regional centres: three for the Israeli Jewish settlement network at Benei Yehudah, Hispin and Tzefon Golan and one for the Syrian Arab Druze enclave at Mas'ada. In these regional centres the processing of the agricultural production of the Golan Heights (packaging, cooling, transport, etc.) and regional services are to be concentrated.

By 1974, 52,880 cultivable dunums had been allocated to the thirteen settlements in the two principal settlement groups labelled "South Golan" and "North Golan": 74 per cent to the former and 26 per cent to the latter. The territorial balance between the major sectors was 62 per cent unirrigated field

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crops, 32 per cent irrigated intensive cropping and 6 per cent fruit plantations. Pastoralism, second only to field cropping as an income source on most settlements, used circa 300,000 dunums of unimproved natural pasture throughout the Golan, with beef production predominating and sheep-rearing in a supporting role (24).

By 1973 the Golan Israeli-Jewish settler population increased to approximately 4,300 in 28 settlements (including the Golan City Qatzrin) (25).

The figures are in many ways illuminating. Despite concerted efforts over more than a decade, entailing enormous investments in infrastructural developments, the Israeli Jewish population of the Golan Heights constitutes less than 50 per cent of the remaining Syrian Arab population of the four Druze villages of Majd al-Shams, Mas'ada, Buq'ata and Ayn Qiniya.

c. Israeli Post-1967 Planning for the Remaining Syrian Arab Druze Enclave of the Golan Heights

It is appropriate in this context to conclude our review of the Israeli colonisation of the Golan Heights with an examination of the conceptualisation of the position of the Syrian Arab Druze communities in the framework of the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division development outline for the Golan Heights, and to examine this abstract framework against the reality of the Israeli occupation policies and subsequent annexation (see Chapter 4 "Annexation and Resistance" below).

A review of the comparative tables for Jewish agriculture and Syrian Arab agriculture as presented in the WZO Settlement Division development planning reveals the following:

Settlement	Field crops (dry farming) (dunum)	Land allocation field crops (irrigated) (dunum)	Orchards (dunum)	Water quotas 1973/74 ³ (m ³)
Mevoh Hamah	3,100	2,000	100	1,300,000
Kafar Haruv	1,400	1,200	200	200,000
Afiq	2,600	1,400	300	300,000
Geshur	1,400	100	-	80,000
Giv'at Yo'av	3,540	1,280	610	900,000
Ne'ot Golan	2,680	1,500	270	400,000
Alei Ad	2,400	850	-	60,000
Ramot	1,440	1,430	630	1,650,000
Ramat				
Magshimim	3,450	1,400	200	600,000
Nov	2,000	1,100	200	350,000
Merom Golan	2,375	2,320	325	800,000
Ein Zivan	3,400	1,360	320	540,000
El Rom	2,880	800	320	400,000
Neveh Ativ	-	-	200	10,000
Senir	-	-	270	-
Total Jewish settlements	32,665	16,740	3,945	7,590,000
Buq'ata	10,000	-	4,700	300,000
Mas'ada	6,000	-	700	250,000
Ayn Qiniya	7,000	-	2,800	300,000
Majd				
al-Shams	12,000	-	7,000	1,250,000
Total Druze villages (26)	35,000	-	15,200	2,100,000

In other words, the 1,900 Israeli agricultural Jewish settlers in the Golan Heights are allocated three and a half times the agricultural water quotas of the 8,900 Syrian Arab Druze village inhabitants.

The World Zionist Organization Golan Heights planners recognised at the outset that Israeli policies as applied to the Syrian Arab Druze villages in the Golan Heights since 1967, and the assumption of administrative responsibilities by the Israeli occupation authorities in the area of public services (education, health, public transport, national insurance, etc.), "has triggered a complex of processes inside these villages which can no longer be stopped".

These processes are not a unique event with a defined result, but ongoing processes which will extend into the future, and thus will inevitably have an implication for the Jewish settlement in the region. It is thus in order that planning should take them into account. (27)

The processes as identified here are increases in the number of population (annual natural growth rate of 3.8 per cent), standard of living and levels of formal education of the younger generations. The planners note that,

Development planning is not included in the range of state services for these villages. This means that the main factor in the development of the Jewish settlement in the Golan is the demographic factor. The effects of this factor may be consistent with the object of the (Israeli-Jewish) Golan development, or may be contrary to the object of this development. (28)

The planners extrapolate a Syrian Arab population of 14,000 by 1990 generating a local non-Jewish labour force of some 4,000-5,000 people, half of which is estimated to be in non-permanent

employment. The main concern of the WZO planners is that this reservoir of cheap labour will not penetrate the "planned agricultural and industrial settlements which have taken place in many smallholder workers co-operatives in Israel".

On the other hand, if this labour force is trained and is properly guided and directed, it could be transformed into a leverage for the development of industry in the Golan town, and the development of both regional productive and consumer services. It is therefore necessary to plan the training and the placement of this labour force in detail and incorporate it organically into the development plans for the Golan town and the regional services. (29)

The planners are also fully aware of the implication of the structural discrimination entailed by the World Zionist Organization settlement development plan regarding the Syrian Arab community in question.

Although there are not yet many Jewish settlements in the Northern Golan Heights area, when these are established it can be assumed that they will be offered intensive state aid in all domains regarding housing, schooling, public institutions, etc. A situation could easily develop wherein the new Jewish settlements will be superior to the Druze villages in the standard of services offered to the citizens, and there are already examples for that. As a result an increasing feeling of discrimination on ethnic or political grounds could develop, which, if accumulated, could find expression one day in open or veiled, active or passive hostility towards the Jewish settlement project. (30)

The solution proposed by the planners is classical, or better, conventional for all development plans directed to promote colonial and settlement ventures of this nature:

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The object in the planning of the Golan region is to achieve maximum co-ordination and integration in the domain of development of the physical regional infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage, road systems, etc.) and to obtain segregation in the domain of human and economic development, in order to encourage Druze development for the Druze. This approach will prevent (the development of) social conflicts against the backdrop of class inferiority which is the result of Jewish and Druze national attitudes. The point of human convergence planned in the Golan development plan is the Golan town (Qatzrin) which will serve as a regional centre for the entire Golan population. (31)

It is against the context of the WZO Apartheid development planning for the Golan Heights that we now turn to review the emergence and development of the patriotic Syrian Arab resistance.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Gador, 1967, (Heb.); World Zionist Organization Settlement Department Galilee Region, 1974 (Heb.); and 1975 (Heb.). In the course of this presentation references to these three documents will be abbreviated as WZO, 1967; WZO, 1974; and WZO, 1975 respectively.
2. It is interesting to note a discrepancy in the official titling of WZO, 1974 and WZO, 1975. Whereas the English title page is as quoted above, namely, World Zionist Organization Settlement Department, the Hebrew title page gives the author as the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division. It is the latter (Hebrew) title, which is the legally correct title.

3. WZO, 1967, 2
4. WZO, 1967, 3
5. Ground water: Mas'ada area (North) ... 4 million m³ p.a.
Nafah-Sanbar-Hushniyya area
(Centre) 5 million m³ p.a.
Sakufiya area (South) .. 0.5 million m³ p.a.
(Source: WZO, 1967, 15)
6. This assessment should be modified in light of the Israeli land confiscations over the period of the past fifteen years since the 1967 occupation. It is unfortunate that at the time of writing this paper at the Centre for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies, University of Durham, the relevant figures were not available to hand.
7. "Cultivable" is defined by Gador as areas which require the level of preparation defined as medium (or less than medium), whose depth is normally no less than 1.2 metres and whose slope is reasonable. (WZO, 1967, 15)
8. WZO, 1967, 13
9. WZO, 1967, 14
10. WZO, 1967, 4 and 5
11. WZO, 1967, 19
12. The industrial village is frequently referred to in the literature by its Hebrew acronym Kafat (Kefar Ta'asiyati) alongside the two earlier structures of co-operative Zionist agricultural settlement in Palestine: the Kibbutz and the Moshav. (A kibbutz is a collective settlement with a communally organised system of production and consumption. A moshav is a co-operative village of equally sized, separate family smallholdings

with their expensive farm machinery and storage facilities communally owned, and a co-operative purchasing and marketing organisation.)

13. The Jewish Agency Settlement Department and the World Zionist Organisation Settlement Division, 1981 (Heb.), (see also Appendix 4)
14. WZO, 1967, 27-28
15. WZO, 1975, 3 and 4
16. WZO, 1974, 16
17. WZO, 1974, 4; WZO, 1975, 4
18. Harris, 1980, Chapter 3, "The Golan Heights 1967-1979", 67
19. Ibid, 67. Nahal is the Hebrew acronym of No'ar Halutzi Lohem ("Fighting Pioneer Youth"), the official settlement arm of the Israeli army.
20. Ibid, 68. See also Appendix 2
21. Ibid, 72 emphasis added
22. WZO, 1975, 4,5,10,11
23. First stage: 6,000 people in the first 3 years of establishment
Second stage: 16,500 people in the first 13 years of establishment
Third stage: 30,000 people in the first 40 years of establishment.
The construction of Qatzrin was begun in 1976.
24. Ibid, 73
25. Ibid, 102

26. WZO, 1974, 19

27. WZO, 1975, 20

28. Ibid

29. Ibid

30. WZO, 1975, 20-21

31. WZO, 1975, 22

4. ANNEXATION AND RESISTANCE (1)

Following the passage by the Israeli Parliament (Knesset) of the Basic Law: Jerusalem, The Capital of Israel, (July 1980) declaring what is in official Israeli terminology referred to as "whole and unified Jerusalem" as the capital of Israel (2), the right-of-Likud Renaissance (Tehiyah) Party began public initiatives to table the Golan annexation law. Given the intensity of international protest against the passage of the "Jerusalem Law", the initiative was considered ill-timed by the Likud Government, and in order to pre-empt the Tehiyah initiative, the Israeli Knesset passed in July 1980 the necessary legislation enabling the Israeli Ministry of Interior to offer to the Syrian Arab inhabitants of the area the facility to apply for Israeli citizenship and take Israeli Identity Cards (IDs).

After the ID "offer" was made, the military occupation authorities began to pressure individuals to accept the cards. Early reports by Israeli and Zionist journalists stated that up to 70 per cent of the 15,000 Golan Druze had accepted the cards. It soon became clear that the figure was ridiculous, however, and pro-Israel journalists stopped speculating about figures. Locals asserted that only a few "mentally retarded or physically handicapped" people had taken cards - in order to receive (Social Security) benefits. In May 1981 a source in the post office in Majd al-Shams told al-Fajr that only 130 applications had been posted. The voters roll of those eligible (to vote) for the June 1981 elections had less than 200 names. (3)

The Tehiyah Party decided to table its Golan annexation law proposal before the Knesset in October 1980 with the strong backing of the all-party Golan lobby. The initiative was defeated, but in November it was again publicly confirmed that the Minister of Interior would be authorised to grant Israeli

citizenship to those of the local Syrian Arab Golan residents who "prove their allegiance to the state and its objectives, and have contributed to its progress in the fields of security and economy" (4).

The announcement was accompanied by the application of undeclared sanctions by the Israeli military and civilian authorities on the population in question. Heads of households began to receive inflated tax demands, students in Israeli universities were threatened with travel restrictions and house arrests. In one case a student at Haifa University was placed by order of the military Governor of the Golan Heights under house arrest on the eve of his final examinations and released 18 days later. As a result, he lost his credit for the entire academic year (5). Teachers in the local elementary schools and single secondary schools were threatened with dismissal; unexpected marketing problems of the Syrian Arab Golan main cash crop - apples - surfaced, and in all cases it was unofficially and repeatedly stated, that the difficulties would be removed upon the taking of an Israeli ID (6).

The unofficial Israeli sanctions failed. They collapsed against the counter measures taken by the independent leadership of the Syrian Arab community of the Golan Heights which threatened every individual in the community who took Israeli ID with social and religious sanctions. As a result, the authorities were reduced to taking public measures of repression and on 31 May 1981 five of the community leaders, Sheikh Kamal Kanj (75), Sheikh Mahmud Hasan Safadi (74), Mr. Muhanna Hussein Safadi (40), Mr. Hayil Hussein Abu Jabal (40) and Ahmad Ali Qadamani (40) were put under administrative detention in Ramleh jail.

On 3 June the Syrian Arab community of the Golan Heights declared a general strike. In addition the sanctions against those members of the community who took Israeli IDs were escalated; the religious leadership of the community declared that they would not officiate in marriages or funerals nor attend social events of Israeli ID holders until the ID cards were

returned. The results of these measures were nothing less than spectacular: (7)

When the father of Muhsin Abu Salih died last week the funeral was attended by 45 teachers under the threat of dismissal if they boycotted it, some of the ID holders, and Israeli military clerks and soldiers. In total 93 people. The dead man was a hero of the Syrian revolt against the French, and in normal times his funeral would have been attended by thousands. (8)

On 21 June, the Israeli authorities detained four more people and subsequently placed them under house arrest.

Throughout June and July the Syrian Arab community staged a series of public protests against the continued administrative detention of its leadership and against Israeli occupation policies. To list a few: on 23 June 1981, a big demonstration (100 people) was held before the Ramleh jail; in July the Jerusalem al-Fajr reports that six teachers were dismissed: on 3 August, a major demonstration by the Syrian Arab people of the Golan was held before the Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem (200 people). The Israeli authorities attempted to crush the resistance by intensified sanctions and restrictions. At one stage, the Israeli national water company, Mekorot, reduced water supplies to the Syrian Arab villages in the Golan (9).

As the school year opened in September 1981, elementary and secondary school pupils emerged into the fore of the struggle. They embarked upon a campaign of systematic boycott of classes taught by teachers who were holders of Israeli IDs, and in November 1981 the secondary school in Mas'ada was shut down in protest against classes taught by a Palestinian Druze (Israeli citizen) who under the guise of teaching the Hebrew language (to which the pupils did not object in principle) introduced Zionist propaganda preaching (10).

By November 1981, the attempts by the authorities to impose

Israeli IDs on the Syrian Arab population of the Golan Heights clearly collapsed. The administrative detention of the five Golan leaders was not renewed and they were released on 30 November 1981 (11). Two weeks later, on 15 December 1981, the Israeli Parliament, at the initiative of the Likud Government, passed (63:21) the Golan annexation law, in terms of which Israeli civilian legislation was extended to apply to the territory of the occupied Golan Heights. Following the passage of the law, Golan was placed under the administrative jurisdiction of Mr. Israel Koenig, the District Commissioner for the Northern District. Two local Courts of the Peace were opened in the Golan and the territory was placed in the jurisprudence of the Nazareth District Court (12).

The response of the Syrian Arab community was loud and clear: a three day general strike. In addition, a memorandum was sent to the newly appointed General Secretary of the United Nations Organisation, Mr. Xavier Perez de Cuellar, which called upon him to force Israel to rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights, and charged the Israeli authorities with attempting to separate the Syrian residents of the territory from their Arab nationality (13).

The public campaign against the renewed attempt to impose Israeli ID cards on the Syrian Arab population, now under the terms of Israeli civilian legislation, immediately intensified, and on 12-13 February 1982, four of the leaders of the community were again put under administrative detentions: Sheikh Kamal Kanj (75), Sheikh Salman Kanj (70), Kang Kang (son of Sheikh Salman Kanj) (35) and Sheikh Mahmud Safadi (74).

On 13 February, the 15,000 Syrian Arab inhabitants of the Golan again declared a general strike: the second general strike since the declaration of annexation. Despite Israeli hopes to the contrary, the general strike was sustained with complete success. The economy of the Northern District was seriously disrupted by the withdrawal of labour of the 2,500 regular Syrian Arab workers who commute daily to work in Israeli kibbutz and development town factories in the North. Threats of dismissal

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were completely ineffective since it soon became evident that the Israeli employers could not locate replacements for this withdrawn labour force (14).

On 24 February, two more Syrian Arab residents of Majd al-Shams, Salman Fakhr al-Din and Jamal Batesh, were jailed under three months' administrative detention orders (15).

When the general strike entered its twelfth day, the Israeli army moved in in an attempt to crush the resistance. On 25 February, Major General Amir Drori, Commander of the Northern Command, ordered the blockade of the four Arab villages of Majd al-Shams, Mas'ada, Buq'ata and Ayn Qiniya.

The blockade was vicious: by mid-March, a total of 26 residents of the four Syrian Arab villages were jailed under administrative detention orders, including two eight-year-old shepherd boys charged with curfew violations. Food shortages became acute. Mekorot, the Israeli national water company, reduced its water supplies, and the national electricity company similarly cut its supplies to the blockaded population. Three more outspoken opponents of the annexation, Arif and Asad Safadi (Mas'ada) and Abdallah Qish (Buq'ata), were jailed under three months' administrative detention orders (16). The press reported that some 40 per cent of the child population under 14 in the blockaded villages suffered from measles, which, unless properly treated, can cause permanent damage to the livers of young children (17).

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) repeatedly applied for a permit to visit the villages under siege - and its applications were consistently turned down (18). The West Bank national association of charitable societies and the Druze Initiative Committee (inside pre-1967 Israel) also sent in food donations - which were similarly turned back by the blockading army (19). The first outside visit allowed into the besieged villages was on 9 March; a delegation of four Members of Knesset representing the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) led Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, accompanied by Salman

Hatur, Secretary of the Golan Solidarity Committee and Chairman of the Druze Initiative Committee, were granted a permit to visit the four villages.

On 11 March, the media reported that the Israeli Minister of Interior signed the necessary regulations deeming the ID cards issued by the military administration of the Golan Heights invalid as of 1 April 1982, and ordered the Syrian Arab residents of the Golan to have them replaced with standard Israeli civilian IDs by that date. It was announced that residents not holding the new IDs would be prosecuted (20).

The response of the besieged Syrian Arab population was similarly unequivocal. should the Israeli authorities attempt to enforce these regulations or begin prosecution, the entire population would go on hunger-strike (21).

The six-week (sic) blockade was lifted on 5 April. The struggle was ended with an outstanding victory for the local Syrian Arab population; the Israeli authorities withdrew their ultimatum to prosecute beginning 1 April, and the Israeli Ministry of Interior announced that the law rendering Israeli civilian ID cards compulsory for the Syrian Arab inhabitants of the Golan Heights would not be enforced.

The long-term political implications of the successful Syrian Arab Druze resistance were not lost on the parties concerned - especially the long term effects on the pre-1967 Palestinian Druze community which since the mid 1950s was made subject to compulsory military service. Yoram ha-Mizrahi points out that:

A visit in the minorities sector in the North will reveal to any sensible observer that a considerable portion of the Druze youth is approaching at a meteoric speed the way of thinking and response of the rest of the Muslim and Christian minorities youth in Israel ... listening to members of the (Druze) community

will uncover an atmosphere of alienation, bitterness and a feeling that "if you do not want us - then we do not want you".... open or tacit identification with the struggle of the Druze in the Golan will be revealed and a percentage of desertion from the army which sometimes sounds fantastic and shocking... (22)

And Zeev Schiff observes that:

When we come to review the negative side (of the Golan annexation law) it is difficult to determine where the damage is heaviest It is no longer possible to claim that there exists one minority community in our midst, the Druze minority, which collaborates with the state, and whose position is different from the position of other minorities. The danger is that what happens to the Druze in the Golan Heights will penetrate and negatively influence also the Druze in the Galilee and the Carmel, whose youths are serving in the army. It is difficult to believe that all this will transpire without having any influence on them, just as an injury against any Jewish community would affect the Jews of Israel, even if the injury is inflicted against a Jewish community inside a state that we consider as sympathetic to Israel. (23)

And, as an indication of things to come, it is perhaps appropriate to conclude this study with the Editorial of the Hebrew conservative-liberal daily Haaretz:

The Israeli army is continuing its blockade of the Druze villages in the Golan in all its harshness. This kind of blockade is unprecedented in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, although there have been far

worse tensions in the past than those prevalent in the Druze villages at the eve of the military blockade. No such prolonged collective punishment was ever imposed on either Hebron, Nablus or Bir Zeit, even after bloody demonstrations there. What caused the authorities to react so severely this time? Nothing of this sort was, of course, ever done inside the state of Israel, whose laws have only just been imposed on the Golan Heights.

The Golan Druze are now learning the hard way that under civilian rule repression can be far worse than it was under military administration.

12,000 people, who used to be non-violent and politically passive until the Israeli annexation was imposed on them, have been trapped in their homes for over four weeks already. Nobody comes or goes. The telephones have been cut off. The villages are surrounded by barbed wire and by road-blocks, as was Yagur in the days of our struggle against the British. The Druze are imprisoned in their villages without food supplies, except for those the army is prepared to sell to them, without proper medical services, without drugs and without other essentials. Some people are without electricity. Herdsmen are not allowed to graze their flocks. Peasants may not cultivate their fields or look after their orchards. Israeli journalists have been forbidden to enter the villages, except for the one "guided tour" given to them, which was like a tour of a jail. The Golan Heights are today the only place in Israel and the territories which is out of bounds for journalists. The army obviously has something to hide there.

The blockade of the villages was invoked on the strength of the Emergency (Defence) Regulations of 1945. Yet there was no emergency whatsoever

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in the Golan when the blockade was announced. The regulation was invoked for blatantly political purposes. The exceptional harshness of the measure constitutes a collective punishment for the Druze's decision to protest against the annexation and against the arrest of their leaders by means of a general strike, a means hitherto entirely legal inside Israel.

The hardening of attitudes that has occurred among Israelis during the last decade is revealed by a lack of care exhibited about the events in the Golan Heights. In the Knesset, only Rakah members voiced any protest. The council of newspaper editors did not rebel against the unprecedented ban on the entry of journalists into Druze villages. Among the general public, a shocking indifference to it all prevails: a few hundred yards from one of the blockaded Druze villages, young Israelis are strolling about in the sunshine, they have their pictures taken in the snow and nibble at snacks. On the other side of the fence, meanwhile, human beings are kept in a cage. (24)

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Based on review of feature articles and reports by the Jerusalem al-Fajr newspaper, November 1980-April 1982.
2. The post-1967 Israeli so-called "whole and unified Jerusalem" consists of the circa 30 sq km of pre-1967 West Jerusalem municipal territory and the circa 70 sq km of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) reaching from the municipal boundaries of al-Bira in the North to the municipal boundaries of Bethlehem in the South.
3. JF, Vol.II, No.74, 27 September-3 October 1981

4. Yedioth Aharonot, 17 November 1980, quoted in JF, Vol.I, No.31, 23-29 November 1980
5. JF, Vol.II, No.62, 5-11 July 1981
6. JF, Vol.II, No.74, 27 September-3 October 1981
7. Muhsin Abu Salih, the Israeli-appointed Head of the Mas'ada Local Municipal Council, and the central Quisling of the Israeli occupation authorities in the Golan Heights.
8. JF, Vol.II, No.59, 14-20 June 1981
9. JF, Vol.II, No.62, 5-11 July 1981. The report quotes one of the teachers at Ayn Qiniya as follows: "Our town was burned once by the Turks, and once by the French, and we rebuilt it on both occasions. We are willing to build it another time if need be."
10. JF, Vol.II, No.80, 20-26 November 1981
11. Administrative detention orders are issued by the Commanders of the Northern, Central and Southern Commands on behalf of the Chief-of-Staff. The orders are normally for three or six month periods. They are renewable without legal limitation for an indefinite period of time. The orders are reviewed by an appointed Committee headed by a Supreme Court judge, which recommends renewal or otherwise. The Chief-of-Staff, or the persons appointed on his behalf, may at their discretion, uphold or reject the Committee's recommendations.
12. JF, Vol.II, No.87, 26 December 1981-7 January 1982
13. JF, Vol.III, No.88, 8-14 January 1982
14. Attempts to increase the recruitment of Southern

Lebanese labour from Major Saad Haddad's enclave proved unsuccessful. (JF, Vol.III, No.96, 5-11 March 1982)

15. JF, Vol.III, No.95, 26 February-4 March 1982
16. JF, Vol.III, No.96, 5-11 March 1982
17. JF, Vol.III, No.98, 19-25 March 1982
18. JF, Vol.III, No.97, 12-18 March 1982
19. JF, Vol.III, No.95, 26 February-4 March 1982
20. JF, Vol.III, No.97, 12-18 March 1982. Under Israeli law every inhabitant 16 years old and over is obligated to carry a valid ID permanently on his or her person.
21. JF, Vol.III, No.99, 26 March-1 April 1982
22. Yoram ha-Mizrahi, "The Jinnee is Out of the Bottle", Haaretz (Weekly Selection of Articles) 12 March 1982
23. Zeev Schiff, "The Price of the Golan Law", Haaretz, 19 March 1982
24. Editorial, "What Has the Army Got to Hide?", Haaretz, 15 March 1982 (emphasis added)

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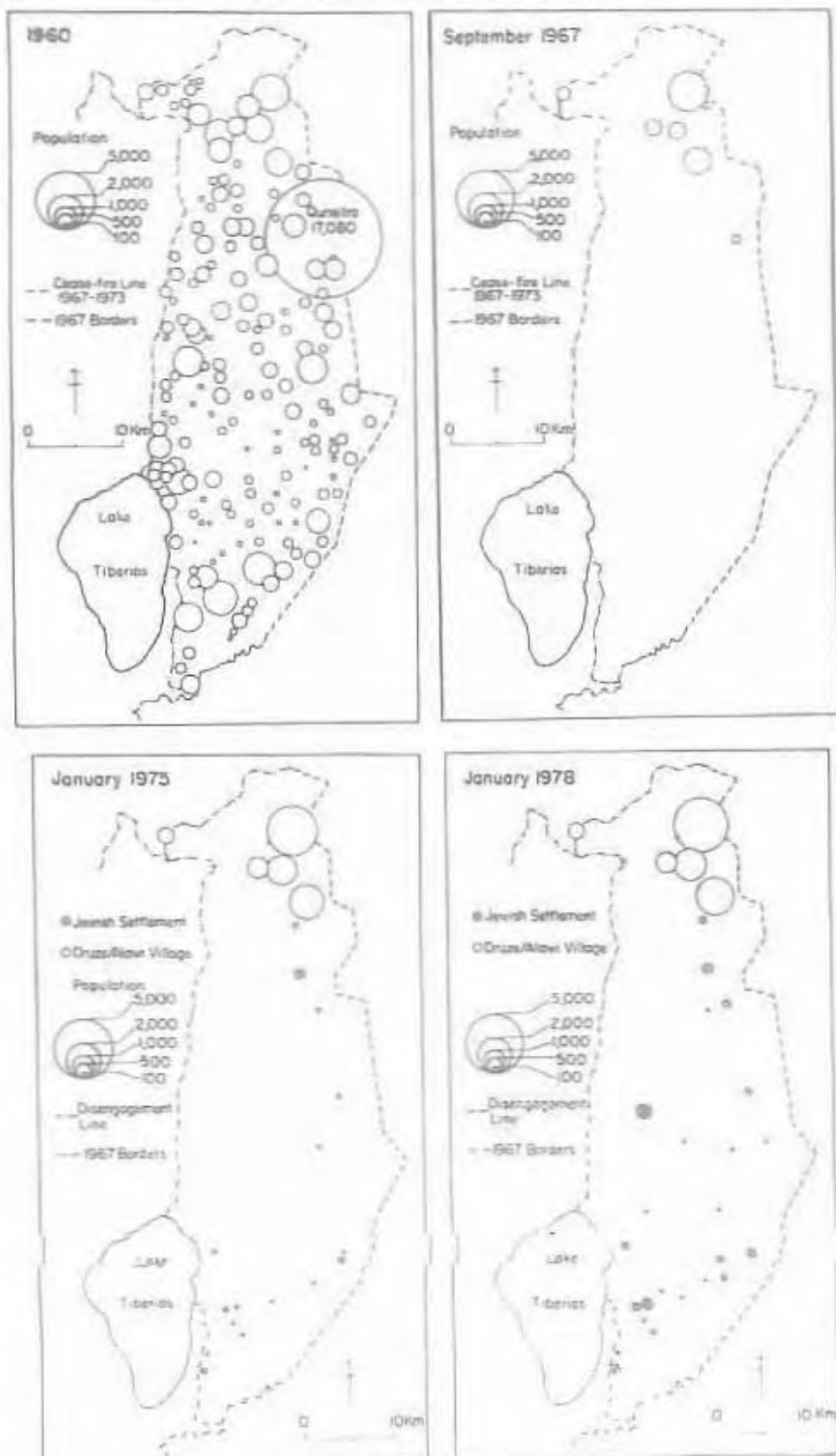
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APPENDIX 1

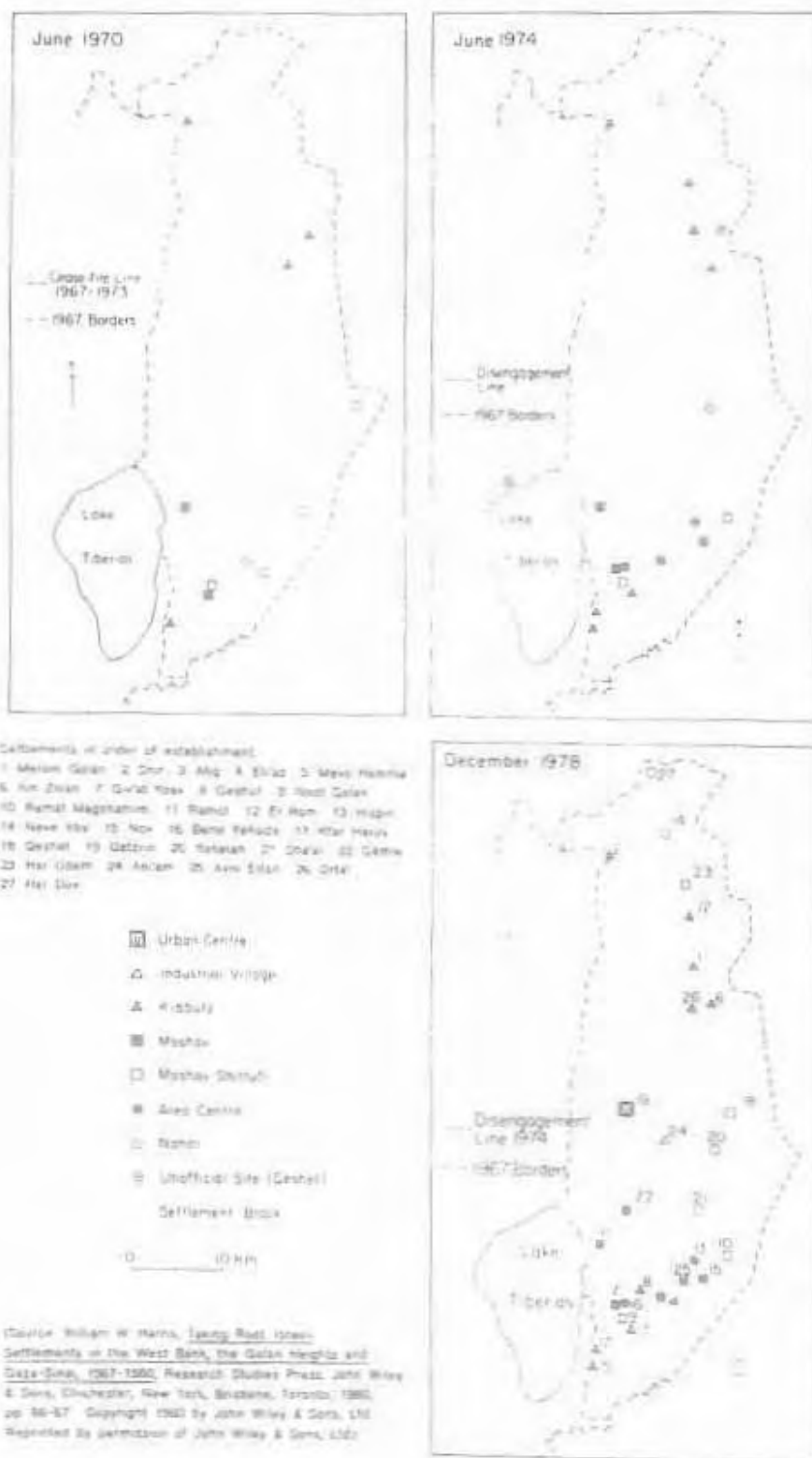
DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATION ON THE GOLAN: POPULATION DISTRIBUTIONS, 1960, 1967, 1975, 1978



(Source: William W. Harris, *Taking Root: Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, the Golan Heights and Gaza-Sinai, 1967-1990*, Research Studies Press, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, 1990, p. 12. Copyright 1990 by John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.)

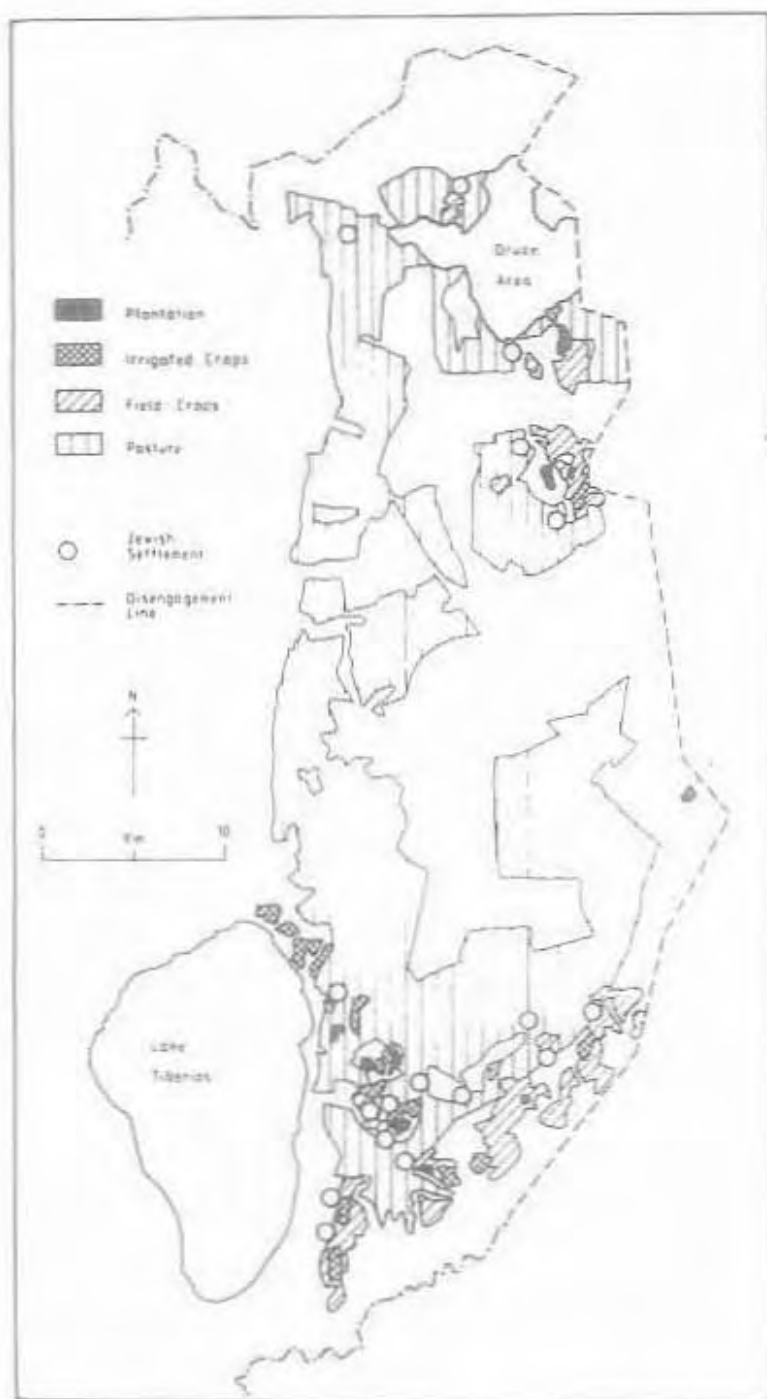
APPENDIX 2

GOLAN HEIGHTS, DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH SETTLEMENTS, 1970, 1974, 1978



APPENDIX 3

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE GOLAN: AGRICULTURAL LAND USE, 1974



(Source: William W. Harris, *Taking Root: Jewish Settlements in the West Bank, The Golan Heights and Gaza-Sinai, 1967-1980*, Research Studies Press, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, 1982, p. 78. Copyright 1980 by John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Reprinted by permission of John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.)

SETTLEMENTS ESTABLISHED IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL BY REGION

Period	Total	Galilee Mountains	Northern Region	Central Region	Negev & Arabs	Judea & Samaria	Golan Heights	Jordan Valley	Gaza Sinai
1870-1947	216	18	99	78	21	-	-	-	-
1948-1950	246	23	59	117	47	-	-	-	-
1951-1953	82	5	18	30	29	-	-	-	-
1954-1957	49	1	9	12	27	-	-	-	-
1958-1961	17	3	4	6	4	-	-	-	-
1962-1966	12	3	2	4	3	-	-	-	-
1967-1968	22	2	-	3	1	3	9	3	1
1969-1972	27	-	-	1	5	2	5	7	7
1973-1976	25	-	2	1	3	3	6	4	6
1977-1981	165	58	3	6	21	46	11	11	9
TOTAL	861(a)	113(b)	196(c)	258(d)	161(e)	54(f)	31(g)	25(h)	23(i)

(a) of which 43 in stages of construction
 (b) of which 18 in stages of construction
 (c) of which 3 in stages of construction
 (d) of which 4 in stages of construction
 (e) of which 8 in stages of construction

(f) of which 6 in stages of construction
 (g) of which 3 in stages of construction
 (h) of which 1 in stages of construction
 (i) of which 2 in stages of construction

(Source: The Jewish Agency Settlement Department and the World Zionist Organization Settlement Division, The Settlement Map in the Land of Israel, March 1981)

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